222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemaren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

262 The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

262 Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
731 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
224 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value,
[252] which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[519] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*tarant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aɣula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenderbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adraɤ-n-Foɤas. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

[56] [177] The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Harratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkheniyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggi*, *aggwr*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akkorhi*, *éyechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éɣewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens (*aɣaleɣ*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaɣ*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékaɣewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.). [223]

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Rat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselseli*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara shuprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*éɣefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikkla* is eaten

[text continues on p. 162]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

224 annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

[4/7 172] (1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

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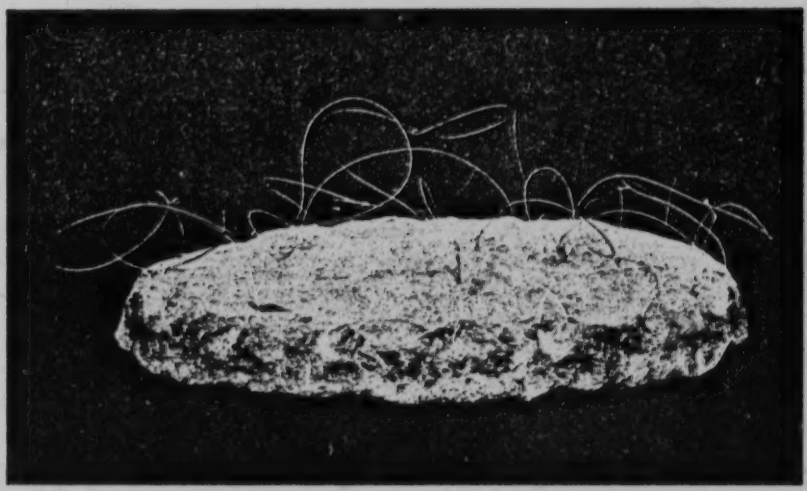

Fig. 118. Snares (*t'izagia*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggedesen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6522).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

catching wild donkeys in the mountains around the valley of Anu Mekkeren. The method is not used for proper game animals.

(7) A pulling and a throwing snare are both known as *tuɣunt*. They are said not to be used for hunting, though commonly employed to catch wild donkeys and domestic animals which have gone astray; cf. p. 108 f.

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*tawchit*) provided with a noosed rope (*tuɣunt*) attached to a stick. This is used for gazelle and bigger game animals in isolated places rarely visited by representatives of the administration. According to Buchanan, the spiked wheel-trap is used for ostriches in the plains south of Ayr (Buchanan 1921, p. 117 ff.). Large traps of this type are also used for giraffe by certain hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 453).

(9) The torsion trap (*tenderbat*) akin to that of Ahaggar. It is used for big game animals, notably for barbary sheep.

(10) Snares (*tazek*, pl. *t'izagin*) made from strips of dum palm leaves are used for guinea fowl and other edible birds. They are generally set near water where birds come to drink. Little boys of the negroid *Imeggedezen* of Agadez also make snares of hair to catch small birds (Fig. 118).

These are the hunting methods known to the Ayr Tuareg, who do not engage much in hunting with the exception of the *Kel Tamgak* mentioned above. Most Ayr Tuareg refuse the small types of game and beasts of prey, and reject not only the *aɣata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.), but also the smaller lizzard known in Ahaggar as *aggezzeram*, in Ayr as *emekkechchu* (*Uromastix acanthinurus*), though it is claimed that the latter is eaten among Tuareg of the *Kel Ewey* group. The two lizzards do not play any part in Tuareg mythology – the *aɣata* lizzard is greatly detested by the Ayr Tuareg who kill it with stones or sticks whenever possible. The Ayr Tuareg, including those of noble descent, have no taboos about birds and eggs, and many pastoral Tuareg collect guinea fowl eggs late in summer after the rains. There are a few animals not mentioned above which are considered edible among the Ayr Tuareg, e.g., the tortoise (*afaras*) which is found in the plains south of the Massif. With the exception of the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg the people of Ayr do not collect locusts (*tahwalt* in Ahaggar, *achwal* in Ayr). Locusts are eaten by all people of the two Northern Tuareg groups. The animals are roasted in the ashes or are boiled in a cooking pot to be pounded in the large mortar together with dried dates. This dish is very esteemed by the women who say that it is fattening and in this way adds to their beauty.

Certain weapons have not been mentioned above because they either cannot be considered proper hunting weapons, or because it is doubtful whether they exist among the Tuareg or not.

Traditional Tuareg arms comprise an iron lance (*allaɣ*), a sword (*takuba*), and a dagger (*télek*) carried in a sheath fastened to the left arm. The iron lance may serve as a hunting weapon, and this is true also of the sword. Thus the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group said that wild animals were occasionally killed with the sword, and they claimed that two Tuareg of the past had killed lions with this weapon.

The bow (Ahaggar, *taɣayyé* or *taɣahhé*; Ayr, *taganzé*) and arrows (Ahaggar, *imurren*, sing. *amor*, or *tinassabin*, sing. *tanassaht*; Ayr, *imeran*, sing. *amer*) are not traditional Tuareg weapons. Nowadays very ineffective bows and arrows are used as toys by little Tuareg boys, but they are never used by

[text continues on p. 169]